1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 [182] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains; seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. They are the exclusive [422] property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

556 472 571 577 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incentive. In order to understand these differences more clearly, let us examine the process by which an investment is made by both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 454 231 471 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be 556 301 454 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function. [422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based